

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-10 OIC-04 PA-03 PRS-01 RSC-01

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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4714

DISTO

ALSO POUCHED TO: ADDIS ABABA, ANKARA, ATHENS, BELGRADE, BRASILIA,
BUDAPEST, BUCHAREST, BUENOS AIRES, HELSINKI, ISLAMABAD, LAGOS,
MEXICO, NEW DELHI, OSLO, PARIS, PRAGUE, RABIT, RANGOON,
RIO DE JANEIRO, SOFIA, STOCKHOLM, WARSAW

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM - NL, UK, UR, CA, IT, JA

SUBJECT: CCD: DISCUSSION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS AT CCD

REF: A. GENEVA 3676

B. GENEVA 4586

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1. SUMMARY: (A) THE CCD'S DELIBERATIONS OF THE CHEMICAL
WEAPONS (CW) ISSUE THIS YEAR WERE INCONCLUSIVE, BUT NOT
UNDESIRABLY SO FROM THE STANDPOINT OF U.S. TACTICAL OBJECTIVES.
AVENUES HAVE BEEN KEPT OPEN FOR POSSIBLE EXERCISE OF

VERIOUS USG POLICY OPTIONS IN CW FIELD AND THERE IS A PRESISTING AWARENESS AMONG COMMITTEE MEMBERS OF THE DEFICIENCIES OF THE DRAFT CW CONVENTION SUBMITTED LAST YEAR BY THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES. MOREOVER, DISCUSSION OF VERIFICATION ISSUE HAS HAD SOME POTENTIALLY SALUTARY EFFECTS: THERE HAVE BEEN NUMBER OF INDICATIONS THAT SOVIETS WILL BE GIVING NEW THOUGHT TO THIS ISSUE AND IN PARTICULAR THEY HAVE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN JAPANESE PROPOSAL FOR "INSPECTION BY COOPERATION" (REFTEL B).

(B) SERIES OF U.S. STATEMENTS DURING SUMMER SESSION FOCUSED PARTICULAR ATTENTION ON VERIFICATION PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY AS POSED IN NON-ALIGNED MEMO ON CW. NON-ALIGNED, INCREASINGLY DISGRUNTLED AND FRUSTRATED BY ABSENCE OF U.S. CW PROPOSAL AND CONCRETE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS, WERE GENERALLY UNWILLING OR ONABLE TO COMMENT ON POINTS WE HAD RAISED. NONETHELESS, OUR DETAILED DISCUSSION OF DIFFICULTIES ENTAILED IN VERIFYING COMPREHENSIVE BAN PROBABLY HAD AN EDUCATIONAL AND PERHAPS A SOBERING EFFECT ON NON-ALIGNED.

(C) IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR GUIDANCE, WE HAD ENCOURAGED BRITISH TO EXPAND ON THEIR IDEAS CONCERNING APPROPRIATE INSPECTION PROCEDURES FOR COMPREHENSIVE BAN AND HAD INDICATED TO JAPANESE THAT ELABORATION OF THEIR VIEWS ON PRODUCTION BAN WOULD BE WELCOME. BRITISH REMAINED UNCERTAIN HOW BEST TO PROCEED, BUT JAPANESE TOWARDS END OF SUMMER SESSION TABLED WORKING PAPER CONTAINING MAIN POINTS OF A COMPREHENSIVE TREATY AND OF A SUPPLEMENTARY DOCUMENT, AMOUNTING TO AN INITIAL BAN ON DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION OF SUPER-TOXIC AGENTS. AMB ROSHCIN (USSR) TOLD AMB MARTIN (US) THAT JAPANESE PRESENTATION REPRESENTED SUBSTANTIAL AND CONSTRUCTIVE STEP WHICH SOVIETS WOULD STUDY WITH CARE AND INTEREST. ROSHCIN, HOWEVER, HAS ALSO STRESSED THAT JAPANESE IDEAS NEED TO BE TRANSLATED INTO CONCRETE PROPOSALS AND HE HAS RAISED QUESTION OF WHETHER RECONVENING OF CCD NEXT SPRING SHOULD BE DELAYED UNTIL IT BECOMES CLEAR THAT GROUND HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR ACTUAL CW CONFIDENTIAL

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NEGOTIATIONS.

(D) AS TO PLANS AND EXPECTATIONS FOR FUTURE WORK, ATTITUDES OF OTHERS RANGE FROM FEELING THAT LITTLE MORE OF UTILITY CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED ON CW UNLESS AND UNTIL U.S. TABLES SPECIFIC NEGOTIATIONG PROPOSALS OR TAKES DEFINITE STAND ON KEY CW ISSUES, TO FEELINGS OF SOME DELS THAT JAPANESE PROPOSAL OUGHT IF POSSIBLE TO BE USED AS BASIS FOR ENTERING INTO CONCRETE NEGOTIATIONS NEXT YEAR. END SUMMARY.

2 THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS ISSUE WAS ONE OF THE MAIN TOPICS OF DISCUSSION THROUGHOUT BOTH SESSIONS OF CCD THIS

YEAR AND U.S. CAME UNDER CONTINUAL PRESSURE TO MAKE A CONCRETE CW ARMS CONTROL PROPOSAL TO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR BEGINNING NEGOTIATIONS AND TO COUNTER DRAFT TREATY TABLED LAST YEAR BY USSR AND ITS ALLIES. FACT THAT CCE WAS STILL UNABLE TO REACH STAGE OF NEGOTIATING A CW MEASURE PRODUCED EVIDENCE OF FRUSTRATION AND DISCOURAGEMENT AMONG COMMITTEE MEMBERS, PARTICULARLY NON-ALIGNED AND SOVIETS. PRESENTATION BY JAPANESE DEL LATE IN SUMMER SESSION OF WORKING PAPER WITH MAIN POINTS FOR A POSSIBLE CW CONVENTION IMPROVED CLIMATE WITHIN COMMITTEE SOMEWHAT AS SESSION DREW TO CLOSE BUT SOVIETS AND NON-ALIGNED NONETHELESS PERSISTED IN PRESSING FOR A CONCRETE TREATY PROPOSAL ON WHICH THEY COULD NEGOTIATE WITH U.S. SOVIETS SUGGESTED PRIVATELY IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO RECONVENE NEXT SPRING UNTIL GROUND HAD BEEN LAID FOR SUCH NEGOTIATIONS, OTHERWISE DISSATISFACTION AMONG COMMITTEE MEMBERS WOULD BE GREATLY INCREASED.

3. DESPITE THESE SENTIMENTS WITHIN THE CCD, HOWEVER, THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH SUMMER SESSION'S DELIBERATIONS ON CW CLOSED ACCORDED REASONABLY WELL WITH THE TACTICAL OBJECTIVES WE HAD BEEN PURSUING. THE WAY HAS BEEN LEFT OPEN FOR POSSIBLE EXERCISE OF VARIOUS USG POLICY OPTIONS IN CW ARMS CONTROL FIELD AND A GENERALLY FLEXIBLE SITUATION HAS BEEN PRESERVED. ALTHOUGH THERE IS STILL SOME SKEPTICISM, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED, ABOUT USG COMMITMENT TO ACHIEVING EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL RESTRAINTS ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS, SUCH DOUBTS ARE PROBABLY NO WORSE NOW THAT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SESSION AND AS RESULT OF OUR CONFIDENTIAL

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SERIES OF SPEECHES A NUMBER OF KEY NON-ALIGNED DELS PLUS THE SOVIETS WILL SEEM TO BE SUSPENDING JUDGMENT ON OUR BASIC INTENTIONS.

4. IN ADDITION, SOVIET 1972 DRAFT CW CONVENTION HAS BEEN KEPT FROM BECOMING CENTRAL OR EXCLUSIVE FOCUS OF COMMITTEE'S WORK. IN FACT, DANGER THAT IT MIGHT BE TAKEN AS BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS HAS PROBABLY RECEDED. SERIES OF U.S. STATEMENTS FOCUSING ON NON-ALIGNED MEMO HAS HELPED PRODUCE THIS EFFECT AND THE TYPE OF DEFICIENCIES THAT WE HIGHLIGHTED IN THAT MEMO ARE PROBABLY RECOGNIZED TO BE NOTICEABLY PRESENT IN THE SOVIET DRAFT. SOVIETS THEMSELVES TOOK NO INITIATIVE TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS ON BASIS THEIR DRAFT CONVENTION BUT IN SUMMER SESSION THEY DID FEEL NEED TO DRAW ATTENTION TO IT FOR THE SAKE OF THEIR IMAGE AND TO COUNTER OUR DIVERSION OF INTEREST FROM IT. SOVIET DELOFFS INDICATED TO US THAT THEY WERE UNHAPPY ABOUT FACT THAT WE HAD NOT BEEN COMMENTING DIRECTLY ON THEIR OWN DRAFT. TOWARDS END OF SESSION AMB MARTIN MADE STATEMENT SETTING FORTH OUR VIEWS CONCERNING THE NATIONAL COMMITTEES ON WHICH THE DRAFT'S VERIFICATION SYSTEM WAS BASED. MARTIN POINTED OUT THAT THIS SYSTEM WAS EQUIVALENT TO SELF-

INSPECTION AND THAT SUCH COMMITTEES COULD NOT BE COUNTED ON TO MONITOR THE ACTIVITIES OF THEIR OWN GOVERNMENTS. DESPITE THE CRITICISMS IT CONTAINED, OUR STATEMENT WAS NOT BADLY RECEIVED BY THE SOVIETS, WHO SEEMED TO APPRECIATE FACT THAT WE DEVOTED ENTIRE SPEECH TO SERIOUS, DETAILED AND NON-POLEMICAL DISCUSSION OF ONE OF THEIR PROPOSALS. AT SAME TIME, THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF SERIES OF U.S. STATEMENTS ON CW DURING SUMMER WAS TO REINFORCE GENERAL AWARENESS WITHIN COMMITTEE THAT THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY U.S. COULD AGREE TO APPROACH SET FORTH IN SOVIET DRAFT. THERE WAS NATURALLY ALSO A CONTINUED APPRECIATION OF THE FACT THAT NO VIABLE CW ARMS CONTROL MEASURE WAS POSSIBLE WITHOUT U.S. PARTICIPATION.

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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5. OUR STATEMENTS FOCUSED SHARPLY ON THE PROBLEMS OF VERIFYING A COMPREHENSIVE BAN AND PROBABLY HELPED BRING ABOUT AN INCREASED AWARENESS OF THESE PROBLEMS AMONG COMMITTEE MEMBERS. THIS MAY HAVE HAD A SOBERING EFFECT ON THE NON-ALIGNED IN GENERAL THOUGH IT DID NOT EASE THEIR FRUSTRATIONS. DUE IN PART TO THEIR LACK OF EXPERTISE AND TO THE INTRINSIC DIFFICULTIES OF THE VERIFICATION PROBLEMS TO WHICH WE DREW ATTENTION, THE NON-ALIGNED DID NOT JOIN

IN EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS AND EXCHANGES OF VIEWS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES. MOREOVER, MANY OF THE NON-ALIGNED CONTINUED TO FEEL THAT THEY SHOULD HOLD OFF COMMENT UNTIL THE U.S. ACTUALLY MADE A PROPOSAL AND THAT IT WAS UP TO THE US TO PRESENT SOLUTIONS AS WELL AS PROBLEMS. WE EXPLAINED PRIVATELY AND IN PLENARY STATEMENTS THAT WE HAD NOT OURSELVES BEEN ABLE TO RESOLVE
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THE DIFFICULTIES INHERENT IN THE COMPLEX CW AREA BUT THAT WE WERE DETERMINED TO KEEP TRYING AND TO ACHIEVE EFFECTIVE AND WORTHWHILE RESTRAINTS ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

6. AMONG OUR ALLIES, ITALY AND THE NETHERLANDS REMAINED INACTIVE. CANADIANS TOWARDS END OF SUMMER SESSION TABLED A WORKING PAPER DISCUSSING CRITERIA FOR DEFINING CW AGENTS THAT MIGHT BE PROHIBITED. EARLIER IN YEAR, CANADIANS HAD EXPRESSED INTEREST IN PARTIAL PRODUCTION BAN AND ITALIANS HAD REGISTERED FACT THAT THEIR PREFERENCES FOR COMPREHENSIVE BAN HAD NOT CHANGED, BUT NEITHER DELEGATION ELABORATED ITS VIEWS AT ANY LENGTH.

7. IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR GUIDANCE, WE HAD ENCOURAGED BRITISH TO EXPAND ON THEIR IDEAS CONCERNING APPROPRIATE INSPECTION PROCEDURES FOR A COMPREHENSIVE BAN AND HAD INDICATED TO JAPANESE THAT ELABORATION OF THEIR VIEWS ON PRODUCTION BAN WOULD BE WELCOME.

8. HEAD OF BRITISH DEL WAS PERSONALLY IN FAVOR OF MAKING CONTRIBUTION ALONG THESE LINES BUT AUTHORITIES IN LONDON DECIDED THEY SHOULD NOT TAKE ANY FURTHER STEPS. THE ONLY BRITISH STATEMENT ON CW DURING SUMMER SESSION CAME NEAR THE END AND IT WAS BRIEF, GENERALIZED AND LACKING IN ANY NEW SUBSTANCE. MOREOVER, IT INCLUDED SOME WASHISH COMMENTS CRITICIZING THE SOVIETS FOR FAILING TO MAKE NEW PROPOSAL IN LIGHT OF THE DEFICIENCIES THAT HAD BEEN POINTED OUT IN THEIR 1972 DRAFT CONVENTION. THE IMPRUDENCE OF THIS TYPE OF AN ATTACK WAS WIDELY RECOGNIZED IN THE COMMITTEE AND SOVIETS PREDICTABLY RESPONDED BY DRAWING FURTHER ATTENTION TO FACT THAT WESTERN SIDE HAD SO FAR NOT SUBMITTED ANY DRAFT TREATY PROVISIONS. THUS, NET EFFECT OF BRITISH ROLE IN CW DELIBERATIONS THIS SESSION WAS, IF ANYTHING, DELETERIOUS.

9. IN CONTRAST, JAPANESE DEL ACTED IN RESPONSIBLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER. EARLY IN SESSION, THEY BROUGHT IN CW EXPERTS FROM TOKYO AND REQUESTED INFORMAL WORKING-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS WITH U.S. DELOFFS. WE EXPLAINED USG VIEWS ON VARIOUS SPECIFIC CW ISSUES AND PROBLEMS BUT CAUTIONED THEM THAT NATURE OF ANY JAPANESE INITIATIVE WAS FOR THEM ALONE TO DECIDE AND THAT U.S. COULD NOT COMMIT ITSELF IN ADVANCE
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TO ANY PARTICULAR APPROACH OR ANY KEY ELEMENTS. TOWARDS
END OF SUMMER SESSION JAPANESE DEL TABLED COMPLEX WORKING
PAPER CONTAINING MAIN POINTS OF A COMPREHENSIVE TREATY AND
OF A SUPPLEMENTARY DOCUMENT WHOSE COMBINED PROVISIONS WOULD
AMOUNT TO AN INITIAL BAN ON DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION OF
SUPER-TOSIC AGENTS. PRIOR TO TABLING, JAPANESE AMB EXPLAINED
TO WESTERN GROUP MEETING THAT HE HAD WANTED THEIR
INITIATIVE TO MORE SPECIFIC AND DIRECT BUT THAT HE HAD
BEEN UNABLE TO GET APPROVAL FROM FOREIGN MINISTRY, WHOSE
ACTION OFFICERS HE SAID WERE NEW AND INEXPERIENCED.

10. THE COMPLICATED AND UNUSUAL FORMAT OF THE JAPANESE
PRESENTATION AS WELL AS ITS LATE TIMING PRECLUDED ANY
SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF IT BEFORE THE SESSION CLOSED.
PRIVATELY, YUGOSLAVS REACTED NEGATIVELY TO EXCLUSION OF
STOCKPILES FROM IMMEDIATE BAN, BUT SWEDISH AMB FELT JAPANESE
MOVE WAS ENCOURAGING AND SOVIETS PUBLICLY TERMED IT A
CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION MERITING FURTHER STUDY. PRIVATELY,
AMB ROSHCHIN (USSR) WAS EVEN MORE POSITIVE AND INDICATED
PARTICULAR INTEREST IN JAPANESE VERIFICATION IDEA OF
"INSPECTION BY COOPERATION." HE TOLD AMB MARTIN (US) THAT
HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT THIS CONCEPT MIGHT PROVIDE BASIS FOR
ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE AN ACCEPTABLE FORMULA FOR INSPECTION
(REFTEL B). IN OUR PLENARY STATEMENT AT AUG 30 MEETING
CLOSING SESSION, WE INDICATED THAT JAPANESE IDEAS WERE
WORTH EXPLORING FURTHER AND EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN THE
VIEWS OF OTHER DELS REGARDING THE POSSIBLE FUNCTIONING AND
ACCEPTABILITY OF THE "INSPECTION BY COOPERATION" PROCEDURE.

11. THERE NOW APPEARS TO US A NUMBER OF VARYING, BUT
POSSIBLY OVERLAPPING, ATTITUDES TOWARD FUTURE WORK ON CW:

(A) DESPITE THE EXTENSIVE ATTENTION GIVEN TO CW ISSUE
DURING SESSION, THERE WERE SOME NON-ALIGNED DELS (SUCH AS
MEXICANS AND MOROCCANS) WHO WERE NOT MESMERIZED BY THE
SUBJECT AND STATED THAT CCD SHOULD TAKE UP OTHER POSSIBLE
MEASURES IF NO CONCRETE PROGRESS COULD BE MADE ON CW ARMS
CONTROL.

(B) ANOTHER VIEWPOINT WAS ADOPTED BY YUGOSLAV DEPUTY
REP WHO ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION TOLD U.S. DELOFF THAT
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USG SHOULD MAKE DECLARATION, HAVING IN MIND FACT THAT WE
TOOK UNILATERAL ACTION INITIALLY WITH RESPECT TO BW,
THAT U.S. WOULD NOT PRODUCE CW AGENTS. YUGOSLAV DEPUTY SAID THAT
HE UNDERSTOOD A U.S. DECLARATION ON CW, UNLIKE EARLIER CASE
OF BW, COULD NOT COVER DESTRUCTION OF STOCKPILES BUT ONLY
DECLARATION NOT TO PRODUCE. IN ADVANCING THIS IDEA TO US,
YUGOSLAV'S PURPOSE WAS TO ENCOURAGE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFFORD
MORE TIME FOR WORKING OUT A POSSIBLE COMPREHENSIVE BAN.

YUGOSLAV THEORY IS THAT ONCE U.S. HAD RENOUNCED PRODUCTION, SOVIETS WOULD BE UNDER PRESSURE TO FOLLOW SUIT OR AT THE VERY LEAST WOULD PROBABLY NOT FEEL COMPELLED TO PURSUE CW ARMS RACE, AND THEN ALL THAT WOULD BE LEFT WOULD BE WORKING OUT OF COMPREHENSIVE TREATY BAN TO ELIMINATE STOCKPILES.

(C) OTHER KEY DELEGATION, SUCH AS THE SOVIETS AND SWEDES, CAME AWAY FROM SESSION WITH APPARENTLY UNDIMINISHED INTEREST IN HAVING COMMITTEE ENGAGE IN CONCRETE NEGOTIATIONS ON CW MEASURE AT ITS NEXT SESSION, POSSIBLY ON BASIS OF JAPANESE IDEAS. SOVIETS IN PARTICULAR HAVE BEEN UNREMITTING IN TELLING US THAT THEY ARE SEEKING FROM U.S. ANY PROPOSAL OR DEFINITE STATEMENT OF POSITION ON KEY ISSUES THAT WOULD PERMIT ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS TO GO FORWARD.

(D) FINALLY, RE GENEVA PROTOCOL, SEVERAL DELS CRITICIZED USG FAILURE TO RATIFY PROTOCOL AND HAVE ASSERTED THAT USG RATIFICATION OF PROTOCOL WOULD HAVE SALUTARY EFFECT ON CCD'S CW DELIBERATIONS, AFFORDING EVIDENCE OF OUR GOOD FAITH AND DETERMINATION TO MAKE SOME DEGREE OF PROGRESS TOWARDS CW ARMS CONTROL.MILLER

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